COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

VOL. VIII. No. 14.] LONDON, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 5, 1805. [PRICE 10D.

"He says, to Corruption, thou art my father, and to the Worm, thou art my mother and my sister"—JOB.

SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

LORD MELVILLE.——In the preceding sheet, at page 487, I was proceeding to notice the contents of a periodical work, entitled, "A REVIEW OF THE REPORTS MADE "BY THE NAVAL COMMISSIONERS: BY A "SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN." This work, as was then observed, must already have cost *somebody*, not less than SEVEN OR EIGHT THOUSAND POUNDS; it having been advertised, almost continually, in all the papers in the kingdom; having a stamp; and, being *given away* with a profusion hardly credible. It was observed, that the work, from that mixture of pertness and malignity, so predominant in every part of it, afforded strong internal evidence of being under the immediate control of THE UPSTART; and, that the "SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN" were, to all appearance, a well-known knot of subaltern peculators.——The object of this work is, *to support Lord Melville*, and, collaterally, to defend the conduct of Mr. Pitt. The mode generally pursued is, not a denial of the facts, which have been brought to light by the Naval Commissioners, nor an attempt to overset the arguments, whence the conclusion of wilful corruption has been drawn; but, A DEFENCE OF CORRUPTION ITSELF, as a practice necessary to the *preservation of "our excellent constitution*;" insomuch that THE UPSTART seems, with singular candour, to claim (as well he may!) and almost in a literal sense, the relationship designated in my motto. "The nation," says he, "ought to see the tendency of all "this" [the proceedings relative to Lord Melville], "and that, while we are em- "ployed on such inquiries, *the French squa- "drons may go out and in as they please*, "for we have *no time to look at them!!!* "It is singular enough, that at the very "time that our sworn enemy has assumed "*the most unlimited powers* to be the bet- "ter able to crush us, we are earnestly oc- "cupied *in diminishing those very limited "ones which we have hitherto enjoyed.* "Those who will take the trouble to study "Adam Smith's wealth of nations, must "know that great trading companies, who "are obliged to act by rule, are unable to "enter into competition with individuals "who have no rule but their own judg- "ment. It is the same thing with govern- "ments, and the greatest part of our ex- "penses as a nation, may be set down to "this very account. It is one of the *disad- "vantages* attendant on our *excellent con- "stitution*, for our national debt begun at "the revolution, and we have in the most "regular manner possible, spent five hun- "dred millions, while other powers with "all their *irregularities in finance* have not "spent one quarter of the sum. How far "our new improvements may lead, it is "difficult to guess, but surely profit is the "object, whether it may be attained or "not. In less than six months we shall "venture to say, that the nation will "lament the effects of these *inquiries on "the* ATTENTION OF MINISTERS; this is the "15th of June, and we say, the nation will "lament the effects of it before the 15th "day of December."——The *unlimited powers*, here spoken of as having been assumed by our sworn enemy, are, the powers assumed by Buonaparté over the purses and the persons of the people of France; or, in other words, the *despotism* exercised in th t country; and, the UPSTART regrets, that any thing should have taken place *to diminish that sort of power here!* "Enjoyed!" The "very limited powers that WE have "hitherto *enjoyed!*" Who are "WE!" The ministry of course; for, it is hardly possible, that even THE UPSTART can have had the presumption to hope to persuade the people, that *they* enjoyed the powers of disposing of the public money.——The argument upon the principle of Adam Smith is truly admirable! And, it will be curious enough to compare the early professions of Mr. Pitt with the doctrine here laid down; to wit; that to insist upon a regular accounting for the disposal of the public money "is one of the *disadvantages* of our "*excellent constitution*." This comparison must, however, be deferred till my next; but, it is impossible not to observe on the flagrant injustice of ascribing to the *revolution* and to the checks upon the public expenditure the enormous amount of the national debt, which has not accrued in a "*regular manner*," FOUR out of the SIX hundred millions having been contracted during the *last* 20 of the 120 years, since

which the revolution took place; that is to say, during the 20 years that the affairs of the nation have been entrusted to the hands of Mr. Pitt and his worthy political brother, Lord Melville.——But, previously to entering upon an examination into the doctrine inculcated in the work before us, it is necessary to enable the reader to judge of the disposition and the character of the persons and the party, by whom it is conducted and supported.——This "SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN" began their operations on, or about, the 1st of June; and, imagining their opponents to be made of the same sort of stuff with themselves, *intimidation* was one of the means they resolved to resort to. Accordingly, upon the appearance of an article in the Register, notifying that all attempts to mislead the public, with respect to the case of Lord Melville, and thereby to defeat the ends of justice, would be watched and exposed, they inserted, in their Number of the 22d of June, the following article, intended solely for me: "A WORD TO THE WISE. A writer, who generally expresses himself with great violence and energy, has declared his intention of commenting on every publication, whatever its title may be, that tends to what he calls, support Lord Melville. In reviewing the reports, if Lord Melville's cause is supported, we therefore are sensible that we shall incur anger, and suffer the weight of that great censor's chastisement; before he begins we shall only repeat our motto—strike, but listen—followed by a very short commentary. Mr. Cobbett certainly does not suppose, that in this country we are absolutely reduced to the situation of the French under the reign of terror, when those who were brought forward on a cause were instructed to be silent, except when they had something to advance against the accused person. If Mr. Cobbett means what his language expresses, it is tantamount to the same thing; and at one period of his life he held that government, its maxims and its practices, in great horror. If he has changed, we shall be proud of his censure; if he has not, we shall not deserve it; for though it does happen that the review of the reports points out many things favourable to Lord Melville's cause, we are conscious of having spoke only truth, and that with moderation, and therefore have no sort of uneasiness on account of the announced [illegible]. The story of the mad [illegible] should be re- [illegible]. There are [illegible] noble vases of fine materials and of *classical form*, which we should be sorry *to see broken*; but they were neither manufactured at the Admiralty, nor at Somerset-house, yet *they may be brought into danger*. We shall *not say more at present*, but remark, that partisans who are too violent, oftentimes subject those whom they wish to serve *to great danger*."——Lest, however, this printed hint should not have the intended effect, the sheet containing it, and which was sent to me, as to others, *cost free*, was accompanied with a note, in manuscript, addressed "to WILLIAM COBBETT, Esq.," and dated on the 22d of June, the words of which letter were as follow: "The Reviewers of the Reports present their compliments to Mr. Cobbett, and believing that his energetic language is the effect of zeal in the cause in which he is embarked, are persuaded, that he will not take it amiss to be informed, *privately*, in a less ambiguous manner than it is *yet* necessary to do in print, "that, in departments, *held by some of his particular friends, transactions occurred about ten years ago, that, if brought before the public, would make a far greater noise, than the affair of Lord Melville*." But, to what purpose would that be? To *wound gouvernment* and the country more deeply. This, surely, Mr. Cobbett does not wish; but, in fairness, he ought to be moderate, if he *expects moderation*. It must surprise the world to see the Editors of the Porcupine and Morning Chronicle harnessed to the same carriage. Mr. Cobbett is requested not to suppose, that this is written with the *smallest degree of fear* of any remarks he may make on the Review; but, in order to AVOID THAT SPECIES OF RETALIATION THAT WILL BE NECESSARY. If *Mr. Cobbett's friends* get into a *scrape*, they will stand the more *in need of his assistance*; but, that would be a cruel mode of treatment to them. Mr. Hastings's best, but *too busy friend*, Major Scott, was one of the chief causes of *his* impeachment."——If any Pittite, even though he be a "young friend," can prove himself to be the author of any contrivance more base than this, the reader will not, I am sure, deny that his name ought to be engraven upon the pedestal of THE STATUE, which is to be, or which was to be, erected by those notable wiseacres, who, some few years ago, met at the London Tavern, but whose intention, for some reason or other, appears to have been laid aside.——By referring to the Register, Vol. VII. pages, 929

and 961, and the present Volume, p. 1 and 49, it will be perceived, that this note from the "SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN" produced no relaxation in my endeavours fully to expose to my readers the conduct of Lord Melville and Mr. Pitt. "THE CASE" of the latter gentleman, had, in the places, here referred to, been pretty amply discussed; and, as some persons thought, with no inconsiderable degree of effect. Something a little stronger appears, therefore to have been thought necessary by these worthy "GENTLEMEN," who, in their number of the 20th and 27th of July, published two articles, the first of which was addressed to Mr. Windham, and was as follows: "To "THE RIGHT HONOURABLE WILLIAM "WINDHAM. Sir, As you have yourself "been in a ministerial capacity; as you "have felt the necessity of sometimes act-"ing irregularly upon personal responsibili-"ty; how does it happen that you are so "inexorable to an ancient colleague, who "is only, at the worst, accused of doing "the same. You have frequently recom-"mended sports that tend to render men "ferocious, by way of making them for-"midable. Are you serious in approving "such ferocity? If you really are serious, "*let us go it* (to suit the style to the sub-"ject); you must have seen that the fiercest "dogs are sometimes *pinned down*, and "sometimes *tossed in the air*. This is only "the fortune of war, and is always attend-"ed with a SOUVENIR. Dated, *Quiberon*, "July 20th, 1805."——The second article was for me, and in the following words: "As Mr. Cobbett can hardly fail to read "this Review, I beg leave, through its "medium, to ask that worthy patriot if he "knows who was the author, and in-"dustrious circulator through the army, "of a pamphlet, entitled, *The Soldier's "Friend*, published about the same time, "but fraught with ten times more mischief, "than Paine's Rights of Man. A pam-"phlet calculated to render soldiers discon-"tented with their situation, and incite "them to mutiny and rebellion; a pam-"phlet which, in short, I have no hesita-"tion in saying, was a considerable source "of the naval mutiny at the Nore. I well "know, that an animal of the *hedge-hog* "kind, in consequence of the above publi-"cation, was obliged to skulk to America, "where, from its *versatility* of principle, "it became a most *furious declaimer* in fa-"vour of the British government, and is "now by a side wind doing every thing in "its power to *obstruct* that government..... "HINT."——By *government*, men of the description of THE UPSTART always mean *ministry*; and, by *obstructing government* they mean *the preventing or detecting of corruption*. In this way I certainly am endeavouring to obstruct the government; but, I think, it cannot be said, that I am, or have been, making this endeavour by a *side* wind. ——One would think, upon reading this article, that it was the production of an old friend of mine in America. Those who have been so indulgent to me as to read PORCUPINE'S WORKS, will recollect, that, when I began the business of a bookseller in the city of Philadelphia, I resolved to put the power and the courage of the democrats to the test, by opening shop with a grand exhibition of the portraits of kings, queens, princes, nobles, and bishops, and, in short, with every portrait, picture, or book, that I could obtain, and that I thought likely to excite rage in the inveterate enemies of Great Britain, particularly a large, coarse sixpenny representation of Lord Howe's victory over the French. Never since the beginning of the American rebellion had any one before dared to exhibit at his window the portrait of George the Third. This measure excited the feelings that I expected; but, it was finally attended with complete success, notwithstanding much clamour and many threats, amongst which latter, one was conveyed by letter to the owner of the house, stating, that, after having "grossly "abused the French in my writings, I had "now the astonishing effrontery to expose "those writings for sale at my window, as "well as certain prints *indicative of the "prowess of the British and the disgrace of "the French*." The vile wretch, or wretches, who made the attempt at intimidation, put to it the signature of "HINT:" so exactly similar are the workings of minds of the same stamp!——In spite of the threat of Mr. Hint and of the fears which he excited in the heart of the very honest and kind, though timid, man, who was my landlord, I persevered in my exhibitions and my publications; and, I lived to see, in that same city of Philadelphia, a public celebration of the victories of the feats of England over those of France, and to hear George the Third a favourite toast; a change which my friends, certainly too partial, ascribed *wholly* to my exertions, but to which those exertions did assuredly greatly contribute. Before I recur to the "*Soldier's Friend*," I cannot refrain from relating an anecdote connected with the Philadelphia exhibition and the letter of Mr. Hint, and which anecdote, as being strongly illustrative of the effect of example and of the great value of

military fame, ought to have been before related by me. At the time when I adopted my measure of defiance, I knew not one British subject in America besides myself, who was not afraid to own, and who, in fact, did not, in some way or other, *deny his country and his king*; who did not call himself *an American citizen*, and who had not formally, and by oath, transferred his allegiance to the United States. On the first morning of my exhibition, I had put up a representation of Lord Howe's victory in a leaf of the European Magazine; but, a bookseller, with whom I was acquainted, and who came to see *how I stood it*, whispered me, while the rabble were gazing and growling at my door, that he had two large representations of the same action. They were about four feet long and two wide: the things which are hawked about and sold at the farm-houses in England, and had been crammed, more, perhaps, by way of packing stuff than otherwise, into a parcel of goods that had been sent out from London. But the letters were large; the mob, ten or twenty deep, could read, and they did read aloud too, "LORD HOWE'S DECISIVE VICTORY OVER THE FRENCH FLEET;" and, therefore, though the price was augmented from sixpence to *two dollars* each, I purchased them, and put one up at the window, and this print particularly it was that brought forth the threat of Mr. Hint. The other I sold, and this is the part of the anecdote that I wish to record. It was sold to two Englishmen, who were amongst the numbers that went to America about the years 1794 and 1795, misled by the representations of Paine and others, and being, as they frankly acknowledged to me, enemies of their country when they left it. They had mixed amongst the crowd, had taken the part of their country, and had proposed to maintain their words with their fists. After the quarrel had, in some degree, subsided, they, partly, perhaps, by way of defiance, came into the shop to purchase each of them a picture of Lord Howe and his victory. Finding that I had but one for sale, they would have purchased that; but, as it amounted to more money than both of them were possessed of, they went, and, in their phrase, which I shall never forget, "*kicked their master*," that is to say got money in advance upon their labour, which was then engaged in the digging of a cellar. Having thus obtained the two dollars, each of them took an end of the print in his hand, displayed it, and thus carried it away through the mob, who, though they still cursed, could not help giving signs of admiration. It is not, therefore, as I once before observed, the soil, the dirt, the geographical boundaries; but, it is the fame of England, her renown, her character in the world, that endear her to her sons, and that alone can preserve the attachment of those amongst them who possess none of her lands or her wealth. To Lord Howe's victory, and to the naval victories that followed it, the change in the minds of the Americans was, in a great degree, to be attributed; to the sixpenny representation of it I owed no small part of my success at the outset; and from the admirable example of the two English labourers, above spoken of, the cause of England derived more advantage, in Philadelphia, than from the influence of all the hundreds of thousands of British wealth in that city.——In recurring to the subject of the "*Soldier's Friend*," I may ask, what that pamphlet, or what any of my opinions, or any part of my conduct, can have to do with the case of Lord Melville; unless it can be shewn, that, in that pamphlet (supposing me to have been the author of it), or that, in my opinions or my conduct, I formerly countenanced practices like those, of being guilty of which Lord Melville has been detected, and for which he is to be tried? Here, without advancing another step, I might leave the reader to judge between me and the "Society of Gen-" tlemen," and to form his opinion of the *cause* in support of which such means as they have employed have been resorted to. But, I owe to *my* cause, to the cause of every honest man, to the cause of the nation, something more. Having exerted my humble talents in that cause, having become one of those, however inferior in degree, who have espoused that cause, it is my duty to take care, that the cause suffer not, in the mind of any man, from accusations preferred against myself. This consideration kept in mind, I trust the reader will bear with me, while I relate the history of the "Soldier's "Friend" more fully than, without such consideration, could possibly be thought reasonable.——Those who have read the printed account of my life, will recollect, that I was bred up at what is commonly called the plough-tail; that, after some little time spent in and about London, I entered the army at about the age of sixteen, in the very year that Mr. Pitt made his fatal entry into the cabinet; that, in a few months afterwards, I joined my regiment in British North America; that, in less than a year, I attained to the rank of Serjeant-Major of an old regiment; that I continued in that capacity till I returned with the regiment to

England in November, 1791; that, in a few weeks after this I solicited and obtained my discharge from the then Major, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, at whose subsequent conduct no man was more surprised, and whose fate no one more deeply lamented than myself, having been, when abroad, frequently honoured with his conversation, always having witnessed in him the most ardent zeal for the service, and always having heard from his lips sentiments of patriotism and of loyalty the most exalted. To these, the then virtues of this unfortunate gentleman, I have always borne witness; and, I have profited of the occasion of so doing in the presence of Mr. Pitt himself, though no one, I believe, can hold in greater horror than I do, the deeds to the perpetration of which his ardent mind was finally wrought up.——After my discharge, which was granted expressly in consideration of my "constant good behaviour and the great "services I had rendered the regiment" (and more important services, accompained with greater zeal, diligence, and fidelity, I will venture to say, that no man, in such a capacity, ever rendered), I was married, remained in England a few weeks, went to France in the spring of 1792, and thence to the United States of America in the autumn of the same year. The means of my performing this and of rendering myself tolerably perfect in the French language, consisted of about 140 guineas, saved while I was in the army, and derived solely from my pay and from my earnings with my pen, while for four years together I never tasted a morsel of fresh meat, never drank any thing stronger then spruce-bear, and while, in short, I gave to the private soldiers of the regiment a perfect example of sobriety, economy, and of patient endurance of hardship of every sort, from my due proportion of which I would, upon no account, ever be exempted.——Such was my conduct during the time that I had the honour (and I shall always think it a high honour) to wear a red coat, and such was the character, with which that coat was laid by. But, here, in the printed account of my life, there is a small chasm. When I published that account I was in the midst of the revilers of England, and particularly of the English army; or, I should have then stated, that the primary cause of my leaving the army, that the circumstance which first disgusted me, and that finally made me resolve to tear myself from a service, to which my whole mind and heart were devoted, was, the abuses, the shocking abuses as to money matters, the *peculation*, in short, which I had witnessed in it, and which I had, in vain, endeavoured to correct. What these abuses were, by whom they were committed, and how, after I quitted the army, I failed in obtaining redress, it would not now, after many of the parties are dead, be proper for me to state; but, if the "Society of Gentlemen" have, as it is more than probable they have, access to the records of the War-offices, and can obtain leave to publish the correspondence upon the subject, the public will then see, that I have all my life, and in all situations, been the enemy of peculation. It is, however, incumbent upon me to state, that, I have good reason to believe, that my failure upon that occasion was, in no way, to be ascribed to Mr. Pitt, who, as far as a person in so obscure, and perfectly friendless a situation as I then was, could judge, was, as to the matter in question, the friend of fair inquiry and of justice.——During the interval of my discharge and of my departure for France, a proposition, preceded by a speech of the Secretary at War, was made, in parliament, to augment the pay of the army. Some parts of the speech contained matter which a person, with whom I was acquainted, and to whom I had communicated my information upon such subjects, thought worthy of remark in print. Hence arose a little pamphlet, entitled the "*Soldiers' Friend.*" Of this pamphlet I was not the author; I had nothing to do either with the printing or the publishing of it; and I never had in my possession, or ordered to be sent to any person, or to any place, three copies of it in my life; and, I do not believe, that five hundred copies, in the whole, ever went from the bookseller's shop; a fact, however, that may easily be ascertained by application to Mr. Ridgeway, who was the publisher of it. As to the matter of the pamphlet, I cannot now speak in very positive terms, not having read it these fifteen years; but, I can say, that, then, I most heartily approved of every word of it, and that, as well as my recollection will enable me to speak, there are some parts of it, of the *publication* of which I should greatly disapprove now. But, the reader will have the justice to recollect, that this pamphlet made its appearance in 1791, or, perhaps, early in 1792; a time when the principles of demolishing governments were little known and little dreaded, and he will easily judge of the sincerity, with which the "Society of *Gentlemen*" assert, that the "Soldier's Friend" was a "considerable "source of the naval mutiny at the Nore," especially as he must know, that this pam-

phlet has never been mentioned before in connection with that, or any other, sign of disaffection. Again, giving the authorship to me, and even the circulation, if they will; but, let it be considered, that I had just arrived in England; that I was a perfect novice in politics, never having, to my recollection, read even a newspaper while abroad, where my time and my mind where wholly occupied with matters entirely military; and, let it be considered, too, that I took up the book of Paine (just then published) with my mind full of indignation at the abuses which I myself had witnessed, and which, as "little things are great to little men," were, in my sight, of a magnitude much greater than they were when contemplated by men of more extensive information. Under such circumstances, it would have argued not only a want of zeal, but a want of sincerity, and even a want of honesty, not to have entertained sentiments like those expressed in the "*Soldier's Friend.*" But, after all, and, admitting, in their full extent, the assertions of these "Gentlemen," with regard to the authorship and circulation of the pamphlet in question, what is there *new* in their statement? I myself, ten years ago, and at a time when I had not the most distant thought of ever returning to England, having then acquired no property, and beset as I was with democrats on one side and the yellow fever on the other; at that time, as will be seen by a reference to the work, I explicitly stated, that, previous to my leaving England for France, previous to my *seeing* what republicanism was, I had not only imbibed its principles, I had not only been a republican, but an admirer of the writings of Paine. The fault, therefore, if there was any, was in the head, and not in the heart; and, I do not think, that even the head will be much blamed by those who duly reflect, that I was, when I took up Paine's book, a novice in politics, that I was boiling with indignation at the abuses I had witnessed, and that, as to the powers of the book itself, it required first a proclamation, then a law, and next the suspension of the *habeas-corpus* act, to counteract them. Instead of blame, I am not without hope, that the reader will find something to commend, in a person, who, under such circumstances, having imbibed erroneous opinions, was so soon taught, by experience, to correct them, and who, so earnestly employed all the means in his power, to prevent the like errors in others.——As to the insinuation, that I *fled* to America, it is impossible to conceive any thing more false. From the moment, that I resolved to quit the army, I also resolved to go to the United States of America, the fascinating and delusive description of which I had read in the works of Raynal. To France I went for the purpose of learning to speak the French language, having, because it was the language of the military art, studied it by book in America. To see fortified towns was another object; and how natural this was to a young man who had been studying fortification, and who had been laying down Lisle and Brisac upon paper, need not be explained to those who have burnt with the desire of beholding in practice that with which they have been enamoured in theory. These were the causes, and the only causes, of my again leaving England; and, after having, in my absence, exerted myself so much, so successfully, and so disinterestedly, in the cause of my country and my Sovereign; after having been so despitefully treated, so grossly calumniated, and so maliciously persecuted in America, merely on account of those exertions; after all this, what must be the character, what the disposition, of this "Society of Gentlemen," and what must be the cause, in support of which an accusation like that here preferred, is resorted to? It must, however, be confessed, that this base accusation is no more than a repetition of what was preferred by Heriot, the late proprietor of the Treasury prints, the True Briton and the Sun, who inserted, in his papers of the 6th of August, 1803, the following article, the consequence of which insertion the public will not have forgotten: "Mr. Windham professes him-
"self to be *the Soldier's Friend.* We can-
"not suppose, however, that his attach-
"ment to a certain American Scribbler arises
"from his being the writer of a work at
"the beginning of the French revolution,
"bearing that title, because that work had
"for *its object to excite the soldiery to mutiny,*
"to which, it seems, the same Patriotic
"Writer now endeavours *to instigate the*
"*navy.* We speak merely from what has
"been said in the House of Commons, for
"we think no true Briton can read the
"works of the person alluded to, with
"any kind of temper. The *pillory* or the
"*gibbet* we think a more oppropriate re-
"ward than that which Mr. Windham has
"suggested for a writer of such a stamp."
——The calumny of this slave was called forth by a remark of Mr. Windham, made the evening before, in the House of Commons, in answer to a no very indirect accusation against me by Mr. Sheridan and the at once witty and profound Mr. Archdall from Ireland. Mr. Windham said, that,

for my exertions in America I deserved a statue of gold. HERIOT, in a subsequent publication, and after he had been duly and justly treated for the one above-quoted, represented me as a *common libeller*, and stated that I had been obliged to *flee from that country, to avoid the vengeance of the law.* This statement from him I should have regarded as unworthy of notice; but, the notion has prevailed elsewhere, and the "libels" in America have been alluded to with an effect, perhaps, that I ought to endeavour to counteract.——I was twice proceeded against, in America, on a charge of libel. The first time by way of indictment, and, in order, I suppose, to convince me, that I was undervaluing the blessings of republican government, particularly that of the United States, an indictment was preferred against me in the courts of the general government of the Union, and another in the courts of the particular State in which I lived, at one and the same time, for the same publications, and in behalf of the same person; with this difference only, that, the two Attorney Generals having met, *one took one part of the paragraph, and the other took the other!* The subject of these libels, was an exposure of the conduct of the court of Spain, (acting under the influence of France) with regard to her measures towards the United States, and of the conduct of the Spanish ambassador in sending a spy into Canada to prepare for the execution of a plot, one part of which plot was the poisoning of the garrison of Quebec. This fact had been *proved* upon oath, and by the confession of the criminal; and, if I had gone beyond the bounds of the law in communicating it to the people of the United States, and had thereby incurred the penalties awarded against a libeller, this was not, I think, the instance, which the Treasury prints in England should have selected for reproaching me with being a libeller. The fact is, however, that, though the petty black-hearted despot, like the murdering mutes, had two holds of his cord, the grand juries threw out the bills; and, thus, it was decided, that, in this instance, at least, I had been guilty of no libel. The other pretended libel consisted of certain publications on DR. RUSH of Philadelphia, whom, on account of his destructive treatment of the Yellow Fever, I had called SANGRADO, and, by the almost entire destruction of whose practice, I had saved the lives of hundreds, perhaps, thousands of my neighbours. This was an action for the recovery of damages; and, if it had been tried when first brought, not a penny would have been recovered; but, Rush, who is as cunning as he is malignant, deferred the trial, till he had found means to *make sure* of a jury, and, of course, of a verdict. The cause was put off, from court to court, for nearly two years. I struck not less than five or six jury-lists. At last the Doctor met with a jury to his mind; and, as the judge, SHIPPEN, (who has since been *impeached for partiality*, and has escaped merely because there were not quite *two-thirds* of the Senators to vote him guilty) was of the same stamp with the jury, the decision was, that I should pay *five thousand dollars* to the Doctor to make up for the loss of his practice. This, then; it is on this amount *alone*, that the vile skives of the Pitt and Melville ministry represent me as a common, an incorrigible libeller. That the decision was, in America, regarded as unjust, and that I was regarded as a person most grossly injured, was fully proved by the offer that was made me at New York, to pay the damages in my stead. This offer I did not accept of, a similar offer having been before made by some of my own countrymen in Canada and the United States, of which offer I had accepted. And, in order to convince the reader, that these my friends in America saw the case in its true light, I shall here quote, from a treatise published last year by DR. ROWLEY, an account of Dr. Rush and his fatal practice, concluding with a remark as to the part which I took in putting a stop to it. The quotation is somewhat long, but I must request the reader to recollect, that I am, after long silence upon the subject, after long bearing loads of the basest misrepresentation, engaged in defending myself against the charge of being a general and incorrigible libeller. DR. ROWLEY says: "The "celebrated professor of singularities, Dr. "Rush, of Philadelphia, after a variety of "projects to cure the malignant yellow pu-"trid fever, in which there seems but few "proofs, either of scientific principles, or "consistency, but a versatile imagination "let loose without any solid judgment; at "last, bleeding repeatedly, to 100 or 150 "ounces, even when purple or black pe-"techiæ, or spots, were present, was adopt-"ed, and giving *calomel* and *jalap*, in large "doses. This doctrine was practised vehe-"mently by ignorant enthusiasts, under "that physician's direction, by unguarded "inexperienced pupils, black methodistical "parsons, an auctioneer, and others; for "the inventor of these extravagancies "found, that moderate and more learned "physicians of experience, condemned such "irrational conceits. He declared that "girls or boys, of fourteen, might be taught

" the whole treatment in a few hours, and " that the salvation of the citizens depended " on the adoption of these sagacious novel- " ties, or rather old destructive treatment " revived.——After boasting in the papers " of these valuable discoveries, and inform- " ing the public of the shops that vended " the medicines; and, in conjunction with " his sagacious noviciates, running through " the city by day and night, inculcating " these grand receipts until he was hoarse. " The dead list, or bills of mortality, to the " disgrace of the new adventurers, in- " creased from the daily number of 23, to " the enormous number of 119; that was " from September the 11th, when the prac- " tice commenced, the fatality daily in- " creased, to October the 11th; so that " notwithstanding the wonderful remedies " of *bleeding* to exhaustion, and *purging* " with *calomel* and *jalap*, without mercy, " death, cruel death, no respecter of doc- " tors, and their wild chimeras, increased " the deaths to five times the daily num- " bers, in the period of one month. San- " grado like, these evident prejudices were " obliged, apparently, to be defended, and " actions, at law, were threatened and " brought, challenges, &c. were sent, and " beating was inflicted on those, who dared " to utter their rational doubts on the effi- " cacy of these wonderful prescriptions; " notwithstanding they had been censured " by the College of Physicians, at Philadel- " phia. Near ten thousand inhabitants " died in a short time; but whenever any " one escaped by a constitution sufficiently " strong to resist even these errors, such " instances were trumpeted forth, and con- " sidered as a proof, contrary to all true lo- " gical principles, of the utility of the other- " wise deleterious practice. Dr. Cuchillo " was beat by Gil Blas, as a proof of the " truth of Sangrado's doctrines.——Several " professional men attempted to oppose this " mad career, but they attempted it in vain; " for a smooth specious deportment, and an " appearance of earnest solicitude for the " welfare of society, under these calamitous " dreadful circumstances, bore down, like a " torrent, every caution, or warning that " the feeble mild voice of reason, expe- " rience, and truth could utter. The field " of slaughter, therefore, was left to the fu- " rious *venæsectionists*, *jalapists*, and *calo- " melists*, with little or no opposition, and " the havoc, of course, was dreadful; but " when the patients died, a prompt subter- " fuge was ready; namely, that the were " not bled nor purged *enough*, or that the " infallible remedies were applied too late " to be serviceable!——The faculty, and " most reasoning philosophers, will not be " surprised when they are informed; that " besides these fancies: 1. That the pa- " tients were wrapped up in *blankets* first " dipped in *vinegar*. 2. That the expiring " had buckets of cold water throwed over " them. 3. That *mercurial ointment* was " rubbed on the right side, ridiculous idea, " to excite an action on the vessels of the " liver. 4. That the reason given for those " enormous bleedings was, that great " hæmorrhages happened in these fevers, " &c. This circumstance, the merest *Tyro* " in the profession knows, that in putrid " diseases, it arises from the *broken* down " and *putrefactive* crasis of the blood, al- " most reduced to a dissolved state, and is- " suing from the mouth, gums, nose, and " even through the intestines, &c. and even " passes through the exhalents on the sur- " face of the skin, with a horrid putrid " stench. 5. That the same doctor bled " freely in *dropsy*, and in the *ague*. 6. That " he conceived, the best mode of curing a " consumption, was to sail on the sea, work " before the mast, live on salt beef and bis- " cuit, or coarse sea food, be exposed to *wet* " and *cold*, or work hard, and follow the " plough, &c. Such is the cure for ulce- " rated lungs, pulmonic hæmorrhages, &c. " 7. Another extravagant idea of this hypo- " thetist, is, that the black colour of *negroes* " is owing to the *leprosy*, and that when " they may be purged of that disorder, they " will become as white as snow.——After " such specimens of versatility of heated " imagination and exuberance of fancy, the " discerning, learned, and intelligent, will " be at no loss, for any extraordinary con- " ceptions, or contradictions, that may per- " vade the soul of this extraordinary man, " this chimerical professor of singularities! " It may be observed that the great GE- " NERAL WASHINGTON, according to the " opinion of the learned Dr. Brickell, fell a " victim to this vehement bleeding practice; " for at the age of 69, he was bled *three " times*, freely, in the course of a *very few " hours, and immediately expired*, without a " groan! Perhaps, it might be imagined that " more has been said on the Philadelphian " practice of Dr. Rush, than it merited; " but when it be considered, or known, that " many young inexperienced medical prac- " titioners, from a servid fancy, have fol- " lowed, and are following the same fatal " treatment in different parts of the world, " it cannot be too publicly, or spiritedly " reprobated, that innocent, unsuspicious " patients may no longer be sacrificed to

"practices, or opinions, that have been con-
"demned by all experienced and learned
"men in the profession, and particularly by
"all the eminent practitioners in London,
"for half a century.——MR. COBBETT was
"fined 5000 dollars, for exposing this prac-
"tice. It seems the jury afterwards were
"concerned for their verdict. He deserved
"*a crown of gold* for his spirited opposition
"to the wild Republican, who ought to have
"been expelled the city for his practice, if
"the disorders were actually putrid." Now, here is a very eminent physician, after a full consideration of the subject, declaring that I merited reward, instead of punishment, for the writings, which the perjured jurors in Philadelphia assessed me in five thousand dollars for publishing. But, their conduct is excusable when compared to that of HERIOT and the "SOCIETY OF GENTLEMEN." HERIOT, having been written to by me, while in Philadelphia, to order his paper to be sent out, wrote me an answer upon the business, and, in his letter, added the following expressions of approbation and respect. "Permit me now, Sir, to return
"you my best acknowledgments for the
"Numbers of your Political Work, which
"you did me the favour to transmit. Of
"the *great merits* of PETER PORCUPINE,"
[the authoring name which I had assumed] "I was not before ignorant. I
"had read some of his political works with
"very high satisfaction. I shall be, at all
"times, happy, Sir, through the medium
"of my papers, (for I am proprietor of two),
"*to recommend writings so deserving* to the
"notice of a British Public, and you will,
"perhaps, admit I can do this with some
"success, when I inform you, that the
"circulation of my two papers extends to
"nearly 6000 per day. I had an opportu-
"nity lately of making some inquiries re-
"specting you of a gentleman in office here,
"and who formerly held a high diplomatic
"mission in America. He seemed to know
"you well, and spoke *very highly both of*
"*your probity and talents.* I have only to
"repeat, Sir, that I shall think myself
"*highly honoured by your correspondence,*
"and you may, at all times, rely upon the
"*best wishes and services* of, Sir, your most
"obedient humble servant, JOHN HERIOT."
The mirth that would naturally be excited by the circumlocutive pomposity, and the sort of diplomatic reserve, of this vender of Treasury paragraphs, is checked by the contemplation of his baseness. The first proof that he gave me of his best "wishes and services" was, at the time of the peace, to represent me as an *American*, to induce the rabble to believe, that I refused to illuminate for the peace, because *my* country profited by the continuation of the war; a belief most admirably calculated to produce the destruction of myself as well as of my property. The next signal proof of his "best wishes
"and services," was, the publication of the above-quoted false and malignant accusation; and, I put it to the reader, whether, taking the real state of the case together with the above professions of friendship and admiration into view, he thinks that there ever was an instance of baseness equal to that of this devoted tool of the Melvilles and the Pitts. "An *American* Scribbler!" This was the offensive phrase. To think that I, who had said and done and borne and lost so much for my country, who had maintained the name and reputation of England at such risks, who had, by a whole nation, been called "THE ENGLISHMAN;" to think, that I should at last come home, to be nosed under the very eaves of my native thatch, and to be denied an entrance by a reptile, who had crawled up all the way from Scotland upon his belly, was what I could not brook, and for harping upon which I must be excused. But, HERIOT is no singular instance. I know not one writer or publisher, amongst the partizans of the Pitts and Melvilles, who is not of the same description.———I should now beseech the attention of my reader to another, and far more important, part of the subject; but, I have already gone as far as, at present, I have time for, and can only add, that I hope it will be recollected, that it is for the sake of *the cause*, and not for my own sake, that I have entered upon this long, and, I am afraid, irksome explanation.

Botley, Thursday,
2d Oct. 1805.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

Declaration, delivered at Vienna, by the Russian Ambassador, Count Rasomowsky, on the 31st of August, 1805.

It would be superfluous to revert here to the motives which have induced his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, to recall the plenipotentiary whom he had sent, in concert with his Britannic Majesty, to negotiate with the head of the French government on the subject of peace.——These grounds are too just and obvious not to merit the attention of all Europe. They are contained in the note which was transmitted to the ministers of his Prussian Majesty, by M. Novosiltzoff, on the 28th June (July 10), and the conclusion to which they have given rise, is a consequence of those very senti-

ments and principles which have led his Imperial Majesty to exert himself with incessant anxiety for the restoration of the general tranquillity.——Since the rupture between England and France, his Majesty has beheld, with astonishment and commiseration, the greater part of the states of the Continent compelled, in succession, to bear the burden of a war, which in its origin is plainly of a maritime nature, and foreign to their direct interests. He could not, however, cherish the hope, that this melancholy state of things might be put an end to, by means of a frank and friendly negotiation, when he perceived that, without the slightest regard to these solemn proceedings, which tended to the restoration of peace, and even at the very moment when Russia offered to negotiate for its attainment, the number of states which lost their independence continued to increase.——When his Imperial Majestyresolved to recall his plenipotentiary, he was actuated merely by the consideration that this mission could not produce any pacific result, and not from his having, in any respect, renounced his ardent desire of restoring peace to Europe.——Of this disposition the Emperor gave the most convincing demonstration, in his acceding to the application made by his Imperial Roman and Apostolic Majesty to England, France, and Russia, with the view of renewing the negotiation which had been broken off. His Imperial Majesty, however, cannot, at the same time, conceal the possibility that a conduct, on the part of France, similar to that which has already compelled the Emperor to tread back his first steps towards a negotiation for peace, may likewise render nugatory the negotiation which Austria is desirous of renewing.——The painful apprehension is justified by experience, that new usurpations might be accomplished at the moment when the negotiation was recommenced, or whilst it was carrying on. The apprehension that still greater dangers might arise to the happines of Europe, from a measure, the obvious tendency of which is its entire deliverance; the certainty that these dangers would become inevitable, as soon as the just demands of the continental powers became totally irreconcileable with the pretensions which might be urged by the French government, in virtue of its successive usurpations; the obligation also which his Majesty feels, in the present melancholy and difficult circumstances, of aiding his allies, whose safety and even existence is so seriously threatened, and, in short, of affording them not an illusory, but an effective, immediate, and energetic assistance; all these motives unite in prescribing the only line of conduct which his Imperial Majesty has to pursue.——Russia cannot now recommence the negotiation which has been broken off, under any circumstance, until she has placed herself in a situation to be able to assist her allies at the moment when they might be attacked, and to preserve Europe from total subversion. Her measures must be so combined as to afford a well-grounded hope that a negotiation for peace will augur happier results than those which were expected from all the pacific advances hitherto made, and which unfortunately have been distinguished only by the want of respect shown on the part of France to the remonstrances and propositions of Russia and other continental powers, and by a continually progressive increase of the dangers of Europe.——In consequence of the above considerations, the undersigned has it in charge to notify to the ministry of his Imperial, Royal, and Apostolic Majesty, in answer to the note presented by Count Von Stadion to the cabinet of St. Petersburgh, on the 20th of July (7th August), that his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, upon the subject thereof, has come to the following resolutions:—To accede to the request of renewing the negotiation for peace, which had been broken off by the recall of M. Novosiltzoff, and to take measures for that purpose, as soon as the head of the French government should manifest a similar disposition, without delay to march two armies of 50,000 men each, through Gallicia to the Danube, as a measure of precaution, in order to confine the support of a powerful army of observation, with the negotiations for peace; which army would be in a situation to prevent all farther aggressions during the period of pacification, and to secure at its completion, Austria, and all the neighbouring powers, against any farther attack on the part of France; to invite his Imperial and Apostolic Majesty, and some other powers, to co-operate on their part in this salutary measure, the propriety of which the French government itself, upon an impartial consideration of the case, could not fail to see.—Whilst the undersigned acquits himself of this duty towards the Austrian cabinet, he must likewise, in compliance with the strict injunctions of the Emperor his master, add, that nothing but the sincere wish of restoring peace to Europe actuates his conduct upon this occasion; that Russia will manifest the most conciliatory disposition in any negotiation for peace, and adopt every measure that may promote its happy completion; and his Imperial Majesty solemnly de-

clares, that he is ready to recall his troops, as soon as the much desired security of all the states of Europe shall be obtained.——His Imperial Majesty formally invites his Imperial Royal, and Apostolic Majesty to join in the measures which he has adopted; and the undersigned is fully authorised to concert with the Austrian cabinet every thing connected with the present important state of affairs.

Second Declaration of the Court of Vienna to the French Court; transmitted from Vienna to Paris, on the 3d of September, 1805.

The court of Vienna yields, without delay, to the request which the Emperor of France has made of a categorical explanation respecting the motive of its preparations. The court of Vienna has no other motive than that of maintaining peace and friendship with France, and securing the general tranquillity of the Continent. It has no other wish than that the Emperor of the French may entertain corresponding sentiments.——The maintenance of peace, however, between two states, does not merely consist in their not attacking each other. It depends not less, in reality, on the fulfilment of those treaties on which peace is founded. That power which transgresses in so essential a point, and refuses to attend the reclamations to which such a conduct gives rise, is as much the aggressor as if it openly and unjustly attacked the other party.——The peace between Austria and France was founded upon the treaty of Luneville. One of the articles of that treaty stipulated and guaranteed the independence of the Italian, Helvetic, and Batavian republics, and left them at liberty to chuse their own governments. Any measures, therefore, which tend to compel these states to chuse a government, constitution, or sovereign, otherwise than according to their free will, or otherwise than is consistent with the maintenance of a real political independence, is a breach of the peace of Luneville, and it is the duty of Austria to complain of such a violation.——I wish to maintain reciprocal friendship, to acquire confidence, to secure the public tranquillity from great dangers, may, under critical and delicate circumstances, induce the reclaiming party to adopt precautions, to shew great moderation in complaints, and to defer the discussion of them to future negotiations. This conduct does not imply any contradiction of the stipulations of the treaty; but that power which goes farther, which refuses all explanation, which avoids all mediation, and employs menaces instead of the means of reconciliation, forgets as much the laws of friendship as the sacred rights of peace.—— The maintenance of general tranquillity requires that each power should confine itself within its own frontiers, and respect the rights and independence of other states, whether strong or weak. That tranquillity is troubled, when any power appropriates to herself a right of occupation, protection, or influence, when that right is neither founded on the laws of nations nor on treaties; when she speaks after peace of the right of conquest; when she employs force and menaces to prescribe laws to her neighbours, and compels them to sign treaties of alliance, concession, subjugation, or incorporation, at her will; when she, above all, in her own journals, attacks every Sovereign, one after another, with language offensive to their dignity; when, finally, she sets herself up as an arbitress to regulate the common interests of nations, and wishes to exclude every other state from taking any part in the maintenance of tranquillity and the balance of power. One she would exclude, because it is too distant; another, because it is separated by an arm of the sea from the Continent; and evading an answer to the remonstrances of the powers nearest the danger, assembles troops on their frontiers, and threatens them with a rupture if they place themselves in a state of defence.——Under such circumstances, it becomes necessary for other powers to arm, to support each other, and to join in maintaining their own, and the general security. Thus the military preparations of the court of Vienna are provoked by the preparations of France, as well as by her neglect of all means of securing and maintaining a true peace, and future tranquillity.——All Europe knows the sincerity of the wish for peace which his Imperial Majesty has displayed, and the punctuality wherewith he has fulfilled the obligations of the treaty of Luneville; that sincerity cannot fail to be recognized in the great concessions made in consequence of the injurious extension given to that treaty in Germany, and in the not less great moderation with which his Imperial Majesty has conducted himself on the first departure of the French republic from that treaty, in respect to the concerns of the other republics. While these changes were ascribed to the necessity of securing from all danger the disclosure of the plans for the restoration of monarchical government in France, his Majesty made no difficulty to recognize the state of things which, towards the end of the year 1802, was established in Italy. His

Majesty's confidence in the views of the First Consul was confirmed by the obligations which the latter owed to the Italian republic in his character of president, by his frequent and solemn assurances, before and after his elevation to the imperial dignity, that he was far from entertaining any plans of farther aggrandisement or of encroachment on the independence of the Italian states. In fine, by the pledges which he had given to the Emperor of Russia, particularly with respect to the indemnification of the King of Sardinia, and the general arrangement of the affairs of Italy.——All these considerations concurred in exciting and cherishing in his Majesty's bosom the hope that the consolidation of the new empire of the French would speedily bring back the policy and proceedings of its government to a system of deportment compatible with the balance of power and the safety of Europe; and some time after, when the first reports of new meditated changes in the states of Lombardy, induced the ambassador from the court of Vienna, at Paris, to demand explanations upon this subject; his Majesty, by the official assurance communicated in the name of the Emperor Napoleon, was confirmed in his hopes that the Italian republic would not be united with France, and that no innovation should take place which might prove injurious to its political independence.——Europe will decide whether these promises have been fulfilled. The Emperor has not ceased to demand their execution, as the correspondence evinces, which took place between the two governments, and also the official and ostensible propositions which were transmitted to the Ambassador Count Philip Cobentzel: and though the notes in which the Emperor Napoleon communicated his intentions as to the establishment of a kingdom of Italy, were accompanied with threats and military preparations; though every thing, at the very time, indicated what events have since confirmed, that the Emperor of the French was resolved to accomplish these innovations by force, his Majesty, nevertheless, did not remonstrate against dispositions, which were announced to him as nothing more than a provisional arrangement. He rested satisfied with refuting the charges which furnished a pretext for those menaces, and with expressing his hope, that the principle of separation and independence, which had been consecrated by the treaty, should be carried into complete execution by the definitive arrangements, which the Emperor Napoleon left to depend upon ulterior negotiations with the Courts of St. Petersburgh and London, at the period of the re-establishment of peace.——These negotiations were, in fact, the only hope which remained to his Majesty of succeeding, by conciliatory means, in maintaining peace, and ultimately to restore repose to Europe, which, from its northern to its southern extremity, laboured under alarms excited by enterprizes, which momentarily increased, both in number and magnitude.——His Majesty the Emperor of the French had made a pacific overture to the King of England, in terms which pretended to preclude the latter from the right of taking any concern in the important interests of the Continent. This restriction, combined with the relations existing between the King of England and the Court of St. Petersburgh, induced his Britannic Majesty to have recourse to the mediation of his Majesty the Emperor of Russia. Notwithstanding the suspension of all official relations with France, his Majesty did not hesitate to employ his mediation, to dispatch an ambassador for that purpose, and to make application to the Sovereign of France to furnish him with passports.—The hopes, however, to which these pacific steps gave birth, speedily vanished. At the very moment when the requisite passports were transmitted to the Russian negotiator, to enable him to proceed on his journey to France, fresh attacks were made on the political existence of other independent states in Italy. From that instant the Emperor Alexander conceived that his character must have been compromised as a mediator. On the other hand, French armies were rapidly assembled in Italy, without any regard to the promises given that no military preparations should take place in that country. An encampment of thirty thousand men in the plain of Marengo, was speedily followed by another encampment of forty thousand on the frontiers of the Tyrol and the Austro-Venetian provinces. His Majesty thus found himself under the necessity of providing, without delay, for his own safety. He was now convinced that his pacific, friendly, and moderate sentiments, were not met by such sentiments on the part of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, as to permit him any longer to neglect taking the necessary measures for asserting his just rights, and maintaining the dignity of his empire.——This is the cause of his present armament. The same dispositions, however, which made his Majesty so anxious to avoid a recurrence to such measures, have also determined their precise object. The Emperor arms not with hostile views: he arms not to operate a diversion against a

landing in England. Besides, the execution of this descent, after two years' menaces, does not seem to be exactly calculated for the moment when France provokes Austria and Russia, by enterprizes which have no relation whatever to the quarrel with Great Britain. The Emperor arms for the maintenance of the peace existing between him and France. He arms for the maintenance of those pacific stipulations, without which this peace would become illusory, and to attain that just equipoise which depends on the moderation of all the powers interested, and which is calculated to secure the balance and the permanent tranquillity of Europe.——The step by which his Majesty has at the same time invited all the courts interested to renew the negotiations which have been broken off, is directed to the same object. The unexpected rejection which his interposition has experienced on the part of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, does not prevent him from renewing that invitation. ——He has been more fortunate in his application to the Emperor Alexander. This Monarch, who fills so honourable and distinguished a place in the senate of the powers of Europe, whose equality and general prosperity form the objects of his constant solicitude, testifies, in the answer he has transmitted, and which is hereto annexed [*vide supra*] a similar wish with that of his Majesty, for the conclusion of a just and moderate arrangement. He is also convinced of the necessity of an eventual armament; and, on account of the distance which he has to pass, in order to support the cause of justice and the issue of his moderation, he feels it to be his duty to cause a part of his troops to advance, for the purpose of conferring on the said mediation all the importance and all the effect which are worthy of so great a power.——As a demonstration of the rectitude of the sentiments entertained by the two imperial courts of Austria and Russia, it is hereby formally declared in the name of both: "That they are ready to enter into a negotiation with France, for maintaining the peace of the Continent on the most moderate terms which are compatible with the general tranquillity and security: That whatever shall be the issue of the negotiations, and even should the commencement of hostilities become unavoidable, they, at the same time, pledge themselves to abstain from every proceeding tending to interfere with the internal concerns of France; or to alter the state of possession, and the legally existing relations in the German empire: or, in the slightest degree, to injure the rights or interests of the Ottoman Porte, the integrity of whose dominions they are, on the contrary, prepared to defend to the utmost of their power: Finally, That the sentiments of Great Britain are conformable with those herein expressed, and that she has displayed the same moderate disposition for the restoration of peace between her and France."——His Majesty hopes that this sincere and frank declaration will serve to remove any doubts which his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon may entertain respecting his views and motives. His Majesty will be happy, and his highest wish will be gratified, if this declaration tend to prevent those misfortunes which it is not in his power alone to avert from mankind.

FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

GREGORIAN CALENDAR.——*Decree of the Conservative Senate; September* 9, 1805.

The Conservative Senate, the number of members being assembled prescribed by the 90th article of the constitutional act of the 13th of December, 1799. Having seen the projet of a senatus consultum, prepared in the form prescribed by the 57th article of the constitutional act of the 4th of August, 1801. After having heard, respecting the motives of the said projet, the orators of government, and the report of the special committee, appointed in the sitting of the 2d instant, decree as follows: Art. 1. From the 1st of January, 1806, the Gregorian Calendar shall be used throughout the French empire. Art. 2. The present senatus consultum shall be transmitted by a message to his Imperial Majesty. (Signed) FRANCOIS (DE NEUFCHATEAU), President.—COLAUD and FORCHER, Secretaries.—Examined and sealed. The Chancellor of the Senate,—— (Signed) LAPLACE.

Report of the Minister of the Interior, to the Emperor Napoleon, respecting the National Guards, September the 18th, 1805.

SIRE,——The menaces of the enemies of France, have excited in the bosoms of Frenchmen, an universal emotion of indignation; they have awakened with fresh vigour, their attachment to your august person, their devotion to their country; the Frenchman, whom the two-fold sentiment, of love for his prince and for his country, has at all times rendered capable of such mighty efforts, will now more than ever experience all its influence.——Amongst the measures calculated to prevent the success of every hostile design, and even to disconcert them at their birth, there is one which would have a peculiar effect in securing these sentiments; which under circumstances

nearly similar contributed to the salvation of France; which seems to be invoked by our recollection; which, besides is authorised by the established laws, or rather is itself in existence, at least in principle, and which requires only a prompt developement, and a fresh activity. I mean, Sire, the employment of the national guards.——Whilst this active army, which is itself, in its organization and its spirit, but a detachment from the grand national army, whilst the active army shall be pursuing beyond our frontiers an enemy, whom it has been accustomed to behold retreating before it, whilst it shall be penetrating into the scenes of its past conquests by routes well known to it, the national guard will resume internally the exercise of that vigilance, from which it had been for some time exempt by the repose of our brave soldiers. It will watch over the maintenance of order and the laws; will secure the respect due to the public authorities; will keep guard round the temples, the tribunals, the public institutions; will protect the plains, private property, the workshops of industry; and will maintain the security necessary for every description of works; it will, in a two-fold manner, contribute to the execution of the laws of conscription, by furnishing more multiplied means of superintendance, and by weakening the prejudices that obstruct them, in reviving a taste for a military life in the hearts of the youth. Established on the bounds of the empire, it will encourage your soldiers to march, will secure their retreat in case of a reverse, will present an imposing barrier to the enemy, will insure to France in the midst of all the chances of battles, the greatest advantage in war, that of not being compelled to wage it on its own territory; it will recall those ancient times when the arriere ban, quiet by their fire sides, but ready to take the field at the call of their Prince, formed an immense and formidable rear guard: it will recall these late times, when a similar institution overthrew a still more powerful coalition, whilst France possessed not either the same internal forces, or the same genius to put them in operation. It will give to public opinion a salutary impulse; it will direct every thought to the salvation of the state. It will also, of itself, make an impression upon our enemies, as great, perhaps, as our other military preparations, and the force, that it will have created, though yet in repose, will even be equivalent to active troops.——Why should their Prince and their country have less claims now than at other periods, on the affection of Frenchmen? Why should not gratitude for real benefits operate as powerfully as enthusiasm, which was only the expectation of them? No! there is not a single public functionary, whatever his employment or rank, that does not feel, the incitement of his sons and grandsons to this internal service, to be a consequence and a part of his duty. There is not a man of property, a man in the enjoyment of any fortune, or presiding over any industrious establishment, who does not feel it to be his first interest to contribute in person, and by his people, to the only service that can secure his repose. Those then, who have an interest in the preservation of public order, whose sentiments are guaranteed by their education, will be the first to form this, in reality, *Garde d'Elité*, upon which the government, and the well-disposed citizens, may rely with equal security.——The law of the 7th of January, and of the 16th of March, 1790, of the 14th of October, and of the 3d of August, 1791, and of the 24th of May, year 3d, have never been repealed, and exist in all their force; they have regulated the organization of the national guards, their description of service, their connexion with the civil authorities: they have even provided for the case, in which their co-operation might be necessary for the defence of the state. Your Majesty in person, has shewn what sentiments you entertained respecting this institution, when on the occasion of your coronation you assembled the deputies of all the national guards, when you presented them with colours. These colours, received with transport, preserved in all the departments, will now be unfurled, and become the banners of patriotism and of honour. There are, however, in the details of organization, established by these laws, two objects, which appear to me to call for, at the present period, particular attention and essential modifications. The first is the appointment of officers. In March last I laid before your Majesty some observations on this subject: I reminded you that the national guards wanted officers almost universally; I besought your Majesty to take notice, that the existing form of our establishments, that the state of public opinion, as well as the interests of subordination, no longer warranted the admission of that mode of nomination which had been introduced at a period when all the ideas of democracy were carried to excess; I proposed to your Majesty to decree, that the officers of the national guard should be appointed by the head of the state, like those of the active army, and receive from a hero, who could distinguish the valiant, their com-

mission and their title.——The second object relates to the formation of the companies of the grenadiers and chasseurs, which is regulated by the laws of the 18th of October and 14th July, year 3d. It shews on one hand, that there are in the national guard, composed of citizens, more or less disengaged or employed, more or less disposed to the service, some detachments easily disposable, whose motions may be always prompt, the employment of which might be always sure, whose spirit may be tried; in a word, some choice detachments, that might be ready on the first emergency. On the other hand, it purports to relieve as much as possible from a painful service, which is even expensive, in consequence of the interruption of labour, the poorest class of society, and not to reckon, for rather an active service, on any subjects but those, who have the time, the means, the inclination, to give themselves up to it, and who consequently are induced to it by a more lively interest. The companies of grenadiers and chasseurs composed of subjects, who shall equip themselves at their own expence, who shall offer themselves from a voluntary devotion, or who shall be the objects of an honourable choice, appear to me to be suited to the accomplishment of this two-fold end.—In fine, Sire, your intention no doubt will be, that the national guards shall be solely employed for the maintenance of internal order, for the security of places, and for the defence of the frontiers and of the coasts. Abroad, the active armies, conducted by yourself, have no need of this support. The certainty of not being removed from their families, will inspire a greater ardour, a more constant attendance on the service of this guard; and the presence of their hearths reminding the citizens, who shall compose it, of the interests for which they are armed, will make their service more efficacious, their devotion more spirited. The public functionaries possessing at present an elevated rank in the state, and having acquired it by former and glorious military services; these functionaries bearing a name dear to French soldiers, and invested with a character which our laws render venerable; placed by your Majesty at the head of the national guards, would give them a wise direction, and, more than any thing else, would shew, by appearing at their head, in what spirit they had been established, and with what spirit they ought to be animated. CHAMPAGNY.

Speech of the Prefect of the Seine at the head of the Corps Municipal, on presenting the Keys of the City of Paris to the Emperor Napoleon; September 24, 1805.

SIRE,——Here are the keys of Paris, of the capital of your empire, of that city which you have made the first in the world. In offering you that ancient symbol of the submission and devotion of the city, we cannot dissemble, Sire, that joy, that delicious sentiment, which always signalizes the arrival of your Majesty within the capital, is united this day with emotions more grave, and no less deserving of being appreciated by your Majesty. The annunciation of an Imperial sitting of the Senate, the rumours which had preceded that intelligence, those also that have followed it, some circumstances that are known, others that are said to be known; in a word, every thing that is known or supposed, for some days has thrown the public mind into a kind of agitation which demands only a word to become the most generous and national impulse.—This word, Sire, we expect, and the immense crowd that is about to follow you is impatient to learn what impulse will be permitted, or what measure shall be prescribed to their indignation and their zeal.——God forbid, Sire, that we should seek to predict the designs of your high wisdom, or the conceptions of that great genius, which has every where made you master of times, places, and events; but if it be true, as it is reported, that an attempt is meditated against your person, that an attempt is intended against the independence of the nation, against our liberties and our establishments; direct, that the defence should be proportional to the interest of such a cause; or, if it should be necessary to march, believe, that every thing will be soon ready to follow you, serve you, and avenge you.——Such, Sire, are the sentiments of your good City of Paris.——In every part through which the procession passed, the crowd was immense, enthusiasm at the height, and the acclamations unanimous.

Decree of the Emperor Napoleon relative to the Conscripts.

All the conscripts of reserve, of the years 9, 10, 11, 12, and 13, are placed in activity in the annexed departments. The departments shall direct their contingent on the corps, according to the statements 2 and 3, three days after the publication of the present decree, which shall be sent by extraordinary couriers.——Another decree of the Emperor directs, that all the discharged non-commissioned officers and privates, whether finally discharged, or absent on temporary retirement, or on half-pay, if capable of active service, shall be permitted to join any corps of the army they may desire. The decree provides, that such veterans shall be ad-

mitted in the corps, they shall join respectively, of their former standing, and that their former services shall be allowed them in conjunction with the further services in their claims for military rewards. Serjeants, quarter-masters, corporals, and brigadiers, shall have the same rank, but must serve till vacancies occur on their half-pay. Both non-commissioned officers and privates are to have the power of limiting the time of their services. They are to be new clothed and equipped at their arrival at the corps, and their stock of linen is to be provided at the public expense.

Report made by Marshal Berthier to the Emperor Napoleon, relative to the Conscripts; dated Paris, September 24, 1805.

SIRE,——Your Majesty wished for peace; your armies on the coast were about to force England to subscribe to it, when the influence of that nation seems to have roused new armies to France.——Some powers of the North dare to threaten the empire; that array of war has awakened in the hearts of all the French the desire to fly to the standards which victory has often crowned.—— The old soldiers, who at the peace had returned to their homes, aspire to the honour of taking up arms again, and of directing the young conscripts. Your Majesty will receive their wish with goodness; but there exists a law by which every soldier whose service has experienced interruption is deprived of the advantages of his former service. I propose a decree, therefore, that these soldiers shall be admitted to their former rank.——MARSHAL BERTHIER.——— Monsieur Regnaud de Saint Jean D'Angely reported also on the subject of the national guard to the Emperor, in the council of state, to nearly the same effect. This report concludes with recommending two regulations respecting the national guards; first, a guarantee that they should not be employed out of the territories of the empire; and secondly, that when called on service out of their district, their services should be considered as military services, and entitle them to all the indemnities, all the rewards, and all the advantages granted to the army.

Prefecture of the Seine.—Military Conscription.

The conscripts of the year 14, who have not yet enrolled their names with their respective municipalities, are informed, that the operations relative to the designation being to commence this year on the 2d of October, all those who shall not be enrolled on the 1st of October shall be compelled to march first, pursuant to the laws of conscription.—Here follows an order of the ministers of war, regulating the manner in which the conscription laws shall be carried into effect in the twelve arrondissements of Paris.

DOMESTIC OFFICIAL PAPERS.

ADDITIONAL FORCE BILL. —— *Circular Letter to the Lords Lieutenant of Counties, dated Whitehall, 20th Sept.* 1805.

The Inspector General of the Recruiting Service having represented to me, that the Deputy Lieutenants of the several subdivisions in the country under your charge, have hitherto omitted to certify to him what parishes, within their respective subdivisions, have failed in raising the men required of them under the Additional Force Act, within the period thereby assigned, I am under the necessity of calling your particular attention to the 28th section of that act (44 G. III. c. 66), by which you will observe, that, in every case in which the number of men required to be raised in any parish are not provided within the legal time, the Deputy Lieutenants of the subdivision in which such parish is situated, are required forthwith to certify the same to the Inspector General or his deputy. I have therefore to request, that you would make the necessary communication on this head to the Deputy Lieutenants of those subdivisions, in order that the certificate required by law may be immediately transmitted to the Inspector General, which should be addressed to him, under cover to the Secretary at War, War Office, London; and for the purpose of enabling you to make this communication as speedily as possible, I enclose a number of copies of this letter, equal to the number of subdivisions in the county. For the same purpose, I also enclose copies of my circular letter of the 16th inst. as it is highly desirable that the arrangements therein detailed should be made as public as possible.——As the vacancies arising in the militia, until the number of militia men serving for the county are reduced to the original quota, are to be supplied for the additional force, you will further observe, that the section of the act above recited, applies equally to vacancies in the militia and to the additional force; and that the time assigned by law, within which the parishes may provide their men, without incurring a penalty, is one month from the appointment at the subdivision meeting, with regard to the vacancies in the additional force; and, with respect to the militia, one month from the receipt of the certificate from the clerk of the general meetings to the Deputy Lieutenants of the subdivision for which the militiaman occasioning the vacancy was enrolled.——I have, &c.

Printed by Cox and Baylis, No. 75, Great Queen Street, and published by R. Bagshaw, Bow Street, Covent Garden, where former Numbers may be had; sold also by J. Budd, Crown and Mitre, Pall-Mall